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THE COMPARATIVE OF MEDIA FRAMING IN 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

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Abstract:

As is common knowledge, the euphoria of the election from one period to the next is a breath of fresh air for the mass media crews to favor each other when reporting on events surrounding the campaign, including the presidential election. The public eagerly anticipates that information is worth selling, and a news report because it is a way of addressing the demand for information on the requirements of the people on specific people or groups of people who become newsworthy. National newspapers have a significant role in establishing the Reality of each presidential candidate's campaign coverage (Capres). This research examines how Republika and Media Indonesia newspapers frame their coverage of the 2019 Presidential Election Campaign between Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto through news articles published from March 15 to 31, 2019. The method utilized in this study is qualitative and approves a constructivist paradigm. The utilized theory is framing with the Zhong Dang and Pan Kosicki model. The results demonstrated ideological differences between Republika and Media Indonesia, even though the ideology, editorial content, and ownership of the Republika newspaper did not change during the 2019 presidential election campaign when Mr. Eric Tohir was named campaign chairman for the presidential clone Joko Widodo. There appears to have been a shift in the delivery and framing of Joko Widodo's campaign coverage since 2014. And secondly, the prestige of political leaders.

Keywords: Comparison, Framing, Media, Campaign.

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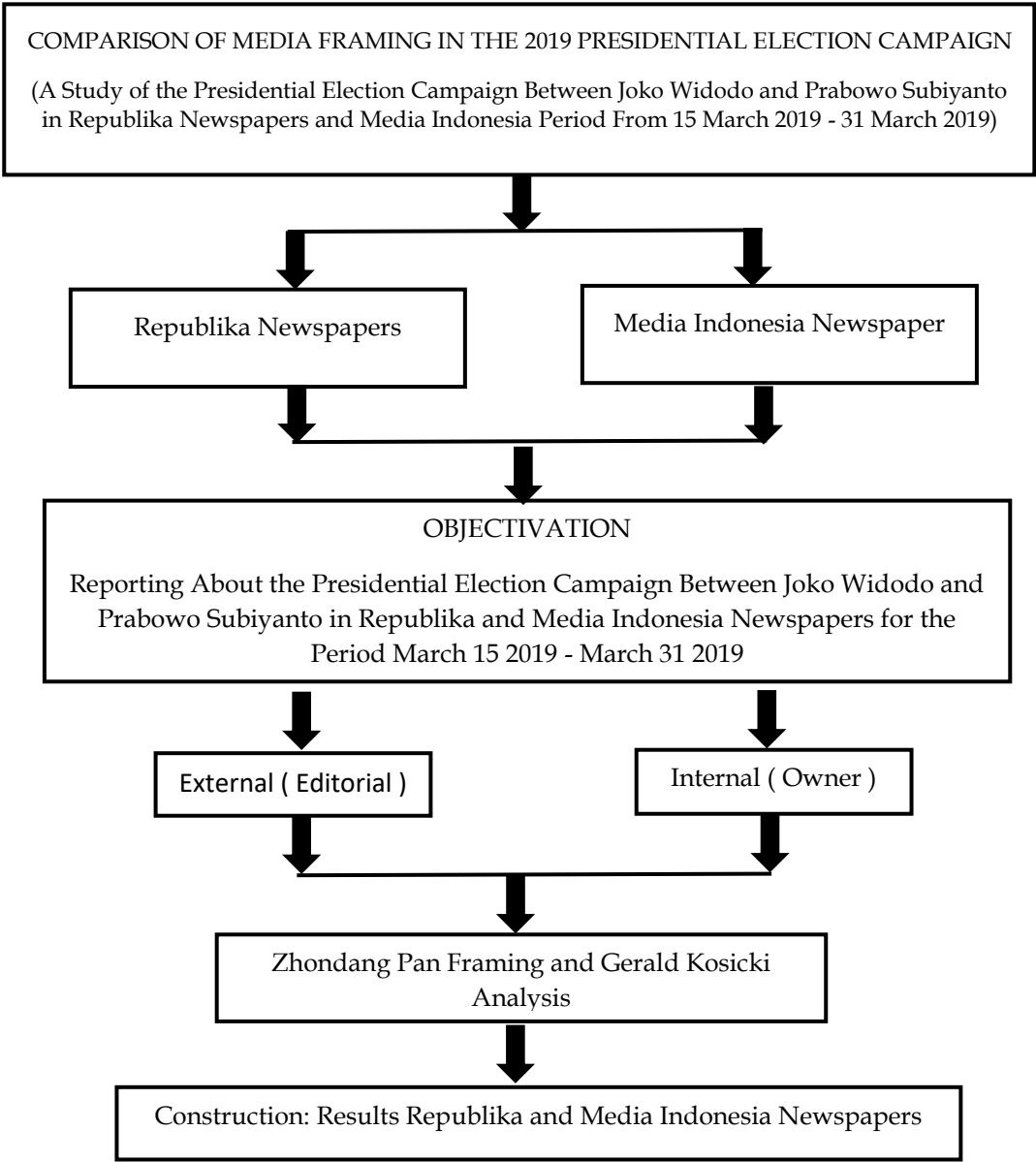
INTRODUCTION

The 2019 presidential election is unique since it is followed by candidates who competed in the previous election and is held concurrently with parliamentary elections. On April 17, 2019, the 2019 Presidential Election (Pilpres) and Legislative Election (Pileg) were held simultaneously for the first time in the history of elections in Indonesia. The legislative elections at the time were held concurrently on the same day as the presidential election, the DPR-RI election, the provincial election, the regency/city election, and the DPD election, which is why they are often referred to as the "Five Box Elections." Political campaigns and communications between the presidential and vice-presidential candidates during the time leading up to, during, and after the voting for the presidential election received special coverage from the mass media, which is entirely reasonable given that it was a significant and historic event for the Indonesian people. This is understandable given that Indonesian media consistently devotes a significant amount of attention to each election (Suwardi Harsono: 2000). In the subsequent political year of 2019, the political climate at the federal level is much hotter. In addition to the political parties that endorse each candidate, the national media, such as newspapers, also implicitly express sentiments and support for particular candidates. There will be fourteen political parties running candidates in this election. As the object and source

perspective. Observing the topic from multiple perspectives is vital to obtain a thorough understanding. Internal elements like media owners, media managers, and the vision and mission of the media will be investigated to determine how media constructs Reality. In the meantime, external media elements consist of media political economy factors. These two criteria determine how the media presents an incident as news. Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis is anticipated to disclose how an event is produced and reported by the media.

Below is a conceptual framework that will lead the research and yield research outcomes.

Figure 1. Encourage Research Thinking



Source: Research Processed Results (2020)

The structure as mentioned above can be described as follows:

1. After the 2019 Presidential Election campaign, the Reality of the Presidential Election Campaign is an intriguing political reality. Events surrounding the coverage of campaign activities have become anticipated news stories. Presidential Candidate Campaign Activities (Capres) are one of the techniques that presidential candidates must execute in the 2019 presidential election to boost their electability and gain voters' support.
2. The media's construction of the Presidential Election Campaign's Reality as the news makes it fascinating. With their different media working methods, two national mass media produced the Reality of the 2016 presidential campaign.
3. Journalists from the media select a variety of themes about the actions of the presidential election campaign that are developing in the community to construct the fabricated Reality. The picked topics originate from journalists via an externalization procedure. Journalists seek out a variety of subjects about presidential candidates and the community-based campaign activities of presidential candidates and their supporters. All concerns surrounding the activities of the Presidential Election Campaign are covered by journalists and brought to editorial meetings to be selected as news by the media.
4. The selection of problems surrounding the activities of the Presidential Election Campaign brought by journalists through an editorial meeting process carried out in an editorial meeting mechanism. Internal and external media influences influence the selection of topics that become news in the media. This is known as objectification. In this process, both inside and external to the media, multiple interests are at odds with one another. In this process, the media uses framing to produce news by their preferences.
5. The objective determination of issues (objectification) in the media is impacted by media values, which have guided all media crews in carrying out their responsibilities (internalization).

Theoretical study. The specialty of the researchers' research in this instance: 1.) Using two national newspapers that have different media ideological backgrounds; 2.) The method of framing the two national newspapers for campaign news from the presidential candidate for defense, Joko widodo and Prabowo Subianto, has differences; 3.) The readerships of the two national newspapers are distinct; 4.) In this research, the two candidates for president in the 2014 presidential election met and competed.

Newspaper. Newspapers are not only becoming more featured and analytically oriented, but they are also printing fewer articles on the front page (Finn & Schudson, 2014), accompanied by the growing practice of bringing large screen photos, attesting to the growing feature orientation of Newspapers designs, which combined well, readable text, offering readers an "experience" (Readership Institute, 2005; Shaw, 2006).

Content and Nature of Newspapers. Maryono Basuki (1983:5) separates the news into four categories: (1) the nature of the incident, (2) the subject matter, (3) the scope of the news, and (4) the nature of the news. In general, news elements that are always present in a news report are: headline, deadline, lead, and body (Basuki 1983:22). (Basuki 1983:22). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) outline the factors that influence mass media content. The fabrication of news regarding the 2020 presidential election campaign has significant ties to propaganda. This is because the government would limit the flow of information to the mass media when reporting on conflicts, riots, and other large-scale

events (Tumber, 2004). Hallin (1986) notes that what the American mass media said about the Vietnam War reflected the political elite's decisions. This limitation on information forces local media to obtain news from news agencies or government-owned news agencies in conflict-affected nations.

To elaborate on the stages of the media impact hierarchy theory, it is described as follows by Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese:

Media Individual Influence Level. This individual level comprises journalists and media workers, such as coverage coordinators, managing editors, and editors-in-chief. Typically, this factor is the journalist's educational background, journalistic experience, and personal traits. According to Shoemaker and Reese, the background and features of media employees include gender or gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and journalist education component (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996:64).

Media Routine Effect Level. This level examines the effects of routine perspectives on the news. Media. Media practices constitute the packaging of media news. For instance, a journalist may be tasked to cover events assigned by the editor. Routine The media consists of three components: news sources, news outlets, and media outlets (suppliers). The relationship between media organizations (processors) and audiences (consumers) (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996:109). These three aspects are connected and interdependent and influence the media practices that comprise a story.

Media Organization Influence Level. This level is associated with the organizational structure of media management, media objectives, and media policy. Level media organizations are more influential than the two preceding levels, the person level and media average level (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996: 140). This level focuses on media proprietors like Erick Thohir, the proprietor of the Republika Daily Newspaper, and Surya Paloh, the proprietor of Media Indonesia. Since they are the largest shareholder, news about media owners indirectly creates positive news. This is possible because the media owner significantly influences the news content.

News and Ideology in Media. The media presents facts, views, and illusions in various formats, including news, commercials, dramas, movies, music, and discussion programs. The presentation's sources and actors can be media professionals or individuals from outside the media. The process might occur either through the media's search efforts or through the sources' proactive outreach to the media. What is presented by the media could be a documentary or a work of fiction. Mediating the raw materials of media content is a representational process, beginning with the original presentation of fact, concept, or fiction. (Rusadi:2015). Grosberg (Rusadi, 2015) asserts that, in practice, the media produce and organize meaning through various codes and systems. The code is how the media interprets Reality and gives the depicted reality world more significance. The link between Reality and its depiction in the world picture is an ideological issue. This indicates that specific texts are constructed as practices of an ideological nature. This mode of representation is only sometimes an accurate depiction of Reality; it can also be fictitious. Thus, a representation could be more realistic, despite the claim being realistic. Grosberg (2006) concludes that ideology is not a quality of the text itself but rather lies in the placement and presentation of the material. Regardless of how the text's purpose is constructed, if it makes assertions about the world, whether or not they are authentic, it is an ideology.

Framing. The Pan and Kosicki Model of Framing. As framing tools, Pan and Kosicki (1991:57-58) employ four structural elements of news texts: syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical. These four framing structures are used to sociologically or psychologically understand Reality. Pan and Kosicki use the four structural characteristics of news texts to create a theme that ties together the semantic elements of news narratives. This approach presupposes that each news item has a frame that serves as the organization's core. A frame is an idea that connects many aspects of a news piece, such as source quotes, background information, and the use of particular words or phrases within the

narrative as a whole. Meaning is related to frames. A person's interpretation of an event can be deduced from the text's indicators. According to Pan and Kosicki (1991:57), a news frame is a tool used to choose, evaluate, and generate information that may be disseminated and related to journalistic practices and conventions. As a tactic to construct and process news discourse or as a property of the discourse itself, framing can be investigated (Pan and Kosicki, 1991:58).

Table 1. Zhongdang Pan and Kosicki Framing Device

STRUCTURE	FRAMING DEVICE	OBSERVEDUNITS
SINTAKISIS How journalists compose facts	1. Framing scheme	Headlines, leads, background information, quote, source, statement, and conclusions.
SCRIPT How journalists tell facts	2. Newsletter	5W + 1H
THEMATIC How journalists write facts	3. Detail 4. Meaning of sentence 5. Nominalization relationship between sentence 6. Coherences 7. Sentence form 8. Pronouns 9. Lexicon	Paragraph, proposition
RHETORICAL How journalists emphasize facts	10. Graphic 11. Metaphor 12. Supposition	Words, idioms, photos, graphics or Pictures

This research aimed to shed light on the media's framing techniques when reporting on the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election campaign between Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. This news is framed or constructed by choosing news stories based on psychological and sociological theories. Pan and Kosicki combine these two ideas into a model that examines the inner conflicts of the human mind. They are particularly interested in viewing the situation from how the media shapes the social environment. The Pan and Kosicki model of framing analysis provides a comprehensive framework for understanding news stories that are the product of media production. Several elements influence the production of news, which is a social reality construction. The picture below illustrates the aspects that impact the media's ability to manufacture Reality.

METHODS

Research Paradigm and Approach. In the research problem formulation, this study uses a qualitative approach (Sekaran, 2006:23). Reality is seen as a thing with a distance dimension, intact and unity. This study uses a qualitative approach because the qualitative approach prioritizes an in-depth understanding of the object studied. A qualitative approach can provide a comprehensive insight into how the mass media, Republika and Media Indonesia, construct and frame Reality in society. A qualitative technique can also be utilized to explain the existence of media-owned internal and external factors and their influence on media tactics in reality construction. Qualitative research pertains to aspects of quality, worth, or significance behind the facts (Denzyme and Lincoln, 2009:26). This research utilizes a constructivist methodology. In terms of ontology, the constructivist paradigm necessitates a manner of perceiving Reality (Denzyme and Lincoln, 2005: 193). The constructionist paradigm emphasizes that Reality does not just present in its original form (as it is) but must be chosen by how an individual perceives everything that exists (Littlejohn, 1999:112-113). By employing this methodology, researchers will be considerably aided in revealing social phenomena throughout the presidential election campaign from March 15 to March 31, 2019.



Research Design. This qualitative descriptive research employs the analysis of Framing Pan and Kosicki to determine the intention of Koran Republika and Media Indonesia in their coverage of the Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto presidential election campaigns. Qualitative research can be interpreted as a study that generates descriptive data on the spoken and written words and the observable behavior of the people being investigated (Taylor and Bedgan in Suyanto, 2006:166). The research report will naturally be in the form of data snippets to give a general overview of the presentation of the report since descriptive research, by definition, collects data in the form of words, pictures, and not statistics (Moleong, 2002:6). A framing analysis is used to examine how a social reality is presented in a communication. Therefore, the terms media and audience frames were considered when designing this study. Media frames refer to the outcomes of how the media has prepared a reality in the shape of messages. At the same time, the audience frame is more concentrated on the Reality created in the audience's minds when the message is received (made by the media).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The media's construction of social reality as news is influenced by various elements and interests, as depicted in Figure 3.1. Both internal and external media variables affect the media. Internal considerations imply that several things significantly influence the media's decision-making. The internal elements include the goal and mission of the media, as well as media owners and management. Meanwhile, external media elements that influence media framing include economic and political issues. Business and political considerations are crucial in shaping and constructing Reality. The organizational culture and technological variables impact the media's representation of Reality.

Research Result/Discussion

News Reviews

New Analysis (1)

Title: Kiai Ma'ruf and Sandi Prepare Ammunition

Time: Friday, March 15, 2019

Source: Republika Newspaper

Summary:

The Vice-Presidential Candidate Debate, in which each Vice-Presidential Candidate prepares material on the topic of Education, Health, Employment, Social, and Culture. Kiai Ma'ruf acknowledged that he would submit the Pre-Employment Card, a scheme that Joko Widodo and Kiai Ma'ruf would implement if elected in the 2019 presidential election. In addition to the Pre-Employment Card, Kiai Ma'ruf will unveil the Smart Indonesia Card (KIP) and the Healthy Indonesia Card, which were adopted during the administration of President Joko Widodo (KIS).

News analysis of syntax in particular, Muhyiddin Arif Satrio Nugroho used Kiai Ma'ruf and Sandi Who Prepared Ammunition as sources in his news articles regarding the 2019 vice presidential debates. Kiai Ma'ruf and Sandi, Who Prepared Ammunition, were journalists for the Republika newspaper. Exhibited a favorable reaction to Kai Ma'ruf Amin's preparation of debate ammunition.

"Kiai Ma'ruf acknowledged that he would present the Pre-Employment Card, a program launched by incumbent presidential candidate Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and himself if he won the 2019 presidential election.

The Republika newspaper has conveyed the substance of the news in the headline without providing the entire article so that readers are already aware of its significance. The news report indicates that if elected in the 2019 presidential election, Kiai Ma'ruf will propose the Pre-Employment Card. This scheme will be launched by incumbent presidential candidate Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and himself.



Meanwhile, the research of the journalist's script underlines every part of the script. It can be observed from those locations that "Pak Jokowi has issued the Pre- Employment Card to strengthen human resources (HR), which fulfills one of the parts of the script (What) (Who). I will also bring it up (in the discussion) "Kiai Ma'ruf expressed this after attending the Declaration of Silaturahmi Alim Ulama and Figures (Silat) Cilegon on Thursday (14/3) in the Bintang Laguna Hall in Cilegon, Banten. (Where, when, and how)

This news has one central subject it wishes to convey to its audience. The primary theme is "Vice presidential candidates number one KH Ma'ruf Amin and number two Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno prepare weaponry for the third debate of the 2019 Presidential Election on Sunday, March 17." The debate for the presidential candidate's spouse focused on education, health, jobs, and social and cultural issues.

Kiai Ma'ruf will discuss policies to increase the function of the cards based on the researcher's examination of the information gleaned from the description of all the news structures provided above. Kiai Ma'ruf stated, "For instance, the volume is increased, and the system is enhanced so that everyone can profit."

Kiai Ma'ruf stated that one of the obstacles in the upcoming debate would be the duration of speaking. As a scholar, Kiai Ma'ruf confessed that he was unfamiliar with time constraints when imparting religious instruction to Muslims.

New Analysis (1)

Title: Jokowi Choose to Work at the Palace

Time: Saturday, March 30, 2019

Source: Media Indonesia Newspaper

Summary:

President Joko Widodo elected to move to the Bogor Palace yesterday after conducting an open campaign in several places since Sunday (March 24) as a presidential candidate.

He is performing many administrative duties and preparing for the fourth debate. Jokowi believes that many citizens will vote in the upcoming election. He desires that no one abstains or loses the right to vote. In addition, the election cost approximately Rp 25 trillion. It would be beneficial if we exercised our right to vote. Observing the title's grammatical structure reveals that the purpose of this news story is to explain why President Joko Widodo chose to work in the Bogor Palace yesterday after conducting an open campaign in several regions since Sunday (March 24) as a presidential candidate. He is performing many administrative duties and preparing for the fourth debate.

In this week's open campaign, Jokowi, among others, visited Banyuwangi, Jember, Malang, Bali, Banjarmasin, Balikpapan, to Mamuju. After the fourth debate held "later tonight" at the Shangri-La Hotel, he will travel to Manado and Makassar to continue his open campaign.

"I urge you once more not to take a vacation. If you wish to vacation, you may do so after casting your ballot. Blocked out, please fly on vacation immediately," Jokowi remarked.

The most recent survey by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), conducted by Noory Okthariza, revealed that around 7% of voters (13 million people) are planning a holiday on April 17. There are up to 21.4% of Christians among them. Jokowi expects that the election will see a significant degree of widespread involvement.

He desires that no one abstains or loses the right to vote. In addition, the election cost approximately Rp 25 trillion. It would be beneficial if we exercised our right to vote. The most recent survey by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), conducted by Noory Okthariza, revealed that approximately 7% of voters (13 million individuals) intended to take a holiday on April 17. Approximately 21.4% are Christians.



Jokowi hopes for a strong level of voter engagement in the upcoming election. He desires that nobody abstains from voting or loses their right to do so. Moreover, the cost of the election was approximately Rp 25 trillion. It is a significant loss if we do not exercise our right to vote. Jokowi urged all eligible voters to exercise their right to vote on April 17 by not taking a holiday. The reason for this is that April 19 is a holiday. Thus they will start their leave on April 16 or 17.

Using 5 W and 1 H, the structure of the news script satisfies the new criterion. Jokowi reminds all eligible voters not to vacation on polling day, April 17, so they can cast their ballots. The reason for this is that April 19 is a holiday. Thus they will start their leave on April 16 or 17.

The journalist wishes to convey that Jokowi truly desires a high level of voter engagement in the upcoming election. He desires that no one abstains or loses the right to vote. In addition, the election cost around Rp. 25 trillion. It would be beneficial if we exercised our right to vote.

The final element is the rhetorical structure; in this example, the author conveyed the news that Jokowi elected to work at the palace without using visuals or images. In this arrangement, Prabowo also highlighted that he was not a fan of extremism. If he prevails, he will dominate all factions. "Takbir does not imply extremism; it is used to worship Allah SWT. In the courtyard of the Pakansari Stadium in Bogor, he proclaimed, "We want to live in peace and not teach hatred."

Confirm Findings with Theory. Based on the above study, it was determined that there were discrepancies in the architecture of political news coverage of the 2014 Presidential Election campaign that was covered and presented by the *Republika* daily, Erik Tohir, the major shareholder and owner of the *Republika* daily, had not yet joined the Joko Widodo Presidential Candidate Success Team at the time, which had an impact on the sharper and more critical news coverage and delivery of the 2019 Presidential Candidate campaign.

However, although the philosophy, editorial content, and ownership of the *Republika* newspaper have remained the same between 2014 and 2019, Mr. Erik Tohir still holds the most significant share. However, during the presidential election campaign (Pilpres) in 2019, Mr. Tohir had a smaller stake, Mr. Erik Tohir. He was appointed as the head of the campaign team of Presidential Candidate Joko Widodo. There appears to have been a change in the coverage and delivery of news on Joko Widodo's campaign, which is now more critical and sharper. It was also discovered that media ideology, such as according to Shoemaker & Reese (1996:224), explains that at this level, it is about how abstract factors such as ideas shape the media ideas of the ruling class. With the goal of how the ideology of the ruling class influences the publication of news that is neither individual nor macro but instead in the interests of the ruling class.

Confirmation of Political Actor Attitude/Behavior Findings Following the 2019 Presidential Election. Like Prabowo Subianto, who did not join Joko Widodo's government in 2014 but was nonetheless a rival to him in the Indonesian presidential candidate election, Sandiaga Uno, his assistant, also became a member of the United Indonesia government, which is presided over by President Joko Widodo.

Findings of Political Leader Brands in Media. The combination of political personalization and political professionalism makes the brand of political leaders a focal point of political campaigns. Modern presidential campaigns have incorporated the brand notion into their political marketing (French and Smith, 2008: 460). Mediatization of political communication compels political leaders' brands to communicate with voters, even if the interactions are sham and emphasize media prominence (Thompson, 1994: 119).

A brand (or frequently translated as a brand) is a symbolic entity, such as a name or logo, used to identify service providers or manufacturers of commodities so that their items may be instantly recognized on the market. The process of branding or branding is the creation of logos, symbols, and names that ensure market recognition of the brand or brand (Lilleker, 2006: 41).

The brand is a symbol (sign) that serves as a ready-made identifier of social identity and a connecting bridge (interface) between customers and producers (Kornberger, 2010: 15-19). A political leader represented by a brand concept is the leader who surrounds himself and his organization or group and bridges voter and stakeholder expectations (Ulrich & Smallwood, 2007: 5). A brand is a messaging bundle that contains the leader's identity as well as the leader's promise to be communicated to voters. Voters identify themselves and assume positions as voters based on the identities of political leaders, which are communicated through brands.

The brand of a political leader is a message that contains the social identity and is intended to be easily absorbed by followers. This social identity enables the leader as a brand to transcend the minimum conditions (border condition) and become a distinct brand from cultural, sociological, and psychological perspectives (Scammel, 2007: 180). The distinction between a generic product and a brand resides in the latter's capacity to provide and reinforce identification (Kornberger, 2010: 77). The brand of a political leader is a symbol created through mass marketing to evoke recognition and mobilize followers. So that political institutions can survive and carry out their functions. This is the essence of political communication in the current period (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999: 209; Bennet & Entman, 2001: 16).

CONCLUSION

1. The campaign news from the incumbent Joko Widodo and his opponent Prabowo Subianto, was reflected or delivered by the Republika newspaper at different times, headlines and ways of presenting news that were different from those delivered by Indonesian media newspapers.
2. The ideology of the Islamic-based and nationalist republica newspaper founded by journalists from ICMI, and the majority of the reader market segment are Muslims. While the ideology of the Media Indonesia newspaper, business and entertainment. But because one of the owners of the Media Indonesia newspaper is the general chairman of the Nasdem Party, that can't be denied influencing its reporting.
3. The editorials of each newspaper are different from each other, and no editorial policy is exactly the same. Coherently what is said by Tunstal and palmer in (MC. Quail: 2010) that, the influential thing is whether the Media company (newspaper) is owned by Raja Media which is symbolized as a desire to put personal/company interests in its editorial policy. This is what distinguishes the editorial policy of each newspaper.
4. In general, Framing Media can influence the views and perceptions of the public or their readers on campaign issues from certain presidential candidates. The public must and it is important to pay attention to sources of news or information regarding the presidential candidates they will choose.

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